/45 cont./

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[171]

only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

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They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

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I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

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Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
● 437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[956] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[190] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

Surára
Unica
Shiriana
Pakidái

412 /55 cont./

[437] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably 174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

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As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [437] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171]

413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

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202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

● 439 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even

[572] scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

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628 123 628 123 728 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept together in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/ having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes, clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither one of them wanted to fight.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
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197 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[437] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[164] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[594] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529 574 439] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [529 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578 621 629] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

244 [777] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mǫmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery [redacted] lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

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